

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 054730

FOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GLEYSTEN

FOL PEKING 0550 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO HONG KONG NEW DELHI  
MOSCOW TAIPEI TOKYO HONOLULU HI MAR 2, 1978 REPEATED TO  
YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0550

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT CH  
SUBJ: 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS: REPORT ON REVISED CONSTITUTION

1. SUMMARY. PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING DELIVERED HIS  
REPORT ON REVISION OF THE PRC STATE CONSTITUTION AT A MARCH 1  
SESSION OF THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) PRESIDED  
OVER BY PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. FROM SKIMPY EXCERPTS  
BROADCAST AND PUBLISHED ON MARCH 2, THE NEW CONSTITUTION  
WOULD SEEM RELATIVELY UNCHANGED FROM THE 1975 VERSION.  
PREDICTABLY, IT DEVOTES GREATER ATTENTION TO NATIONAL  
MINNORITIES, OT GUARANTEES OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND RIGHTS,  
TO NEED FOR MORE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY,  
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PAGE 02 STATE 054730

AND TO THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE. ONE  
PASSAGE ON "DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE  
BROAD MASSES" MAY IMPLY EXPERIMENTATION WITH THE YUGOSLAV MODEL  
OF ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT. THE REPORT -- AND PRESUMABLY THE  
NEW CONSTITUTION ITSELF -- BEAR THE STRONG IMPRINT OF  
YEH CHIEN-YING IN THE REPEATED AND UNCOMPROMISING INSISTENCE  
ON CONTINUING TO "HOLD HIGH THE GREAT BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MOA."

THE NEW PREAMBLE WILL DECLARE THAT ADHERENCE TO MAO'S BANNER  
MEANS VICTORY, DEPARTURE FROM IT SETBACKS OR DEFEATS. END SUMMARY

2. PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING DELIVERED HIS REPORT ON  
REVISION OF THE PRC STATE CONSTITUTION AT A MARCH 1 SESSION OF  
THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) PRESIDED OVER BY  
PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. EXCERPTS FROM YEH'S REPORT WERE  
BROADCAST AND PUBLISHED BY PRC MEDIA ON MARCH 2. WE PRESUME  
THAT THE ENTIRE REPORT, THE CONSTITUTION, AND OTHER NPC DOCUMENTS  
WILL BECOME AVAILABLE FOLLOWING ADJOURNMENT OF THE NPC. (COMMENT:  
IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY LIKELY THAT THE NPC WILL CLOSE ON EITHER  
MARCH 5 OR 6. NHK HAS LEARNED THAT THE CHINESE HAVE BOOKED  
SATELLITE TIME FOR THE EVENING OF MARCH 5, PRESUMABLY TO CARRY  
CLIPS OF THE CLOSING SESSION. THE PRC LEADERSHIP WOULD ALSO  
UNDOUBTEDLY WISH TO WRAP ITSELF IN PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S MANTLE  
BY ADJOURNING THE CONGRESS ON MARCH 5, THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF CHOU'S BIRTH.)

3. FROM SKIMPY EXCERPTS NOW AVAILABLE THE NEW CONSTITUTION  
WOULD SEEM RELATIVELY UNCHANGED FROM THE 1975 VERSION.  
PREDICTABLY, THE NEW CONSTITUTION WILL:  
--DEVOTE GREATER ATTENTION TO NATIONAL MINORITIES AND TO THE  
CONCEPT OF THE "REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT";  
--INCLUDE NEW PASSAGES AIMED AT ASSURING OBSERVANCE "IN SPIRIT  
AND LETTER" OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND SOCIALIST NORMS. YEH  
STATED "WE MUST ENERGETICALLY...FIGHT AGAINST ANY VIOLATIONS  
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PAGE 03 STATE 054730

OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC LIFE OR ENCROACHMENT ON THE RIGHTS  
OF CITIZENS" AND CALLED FOR A FULL GUARANTEE OF "THE PEOPLE'S  
RIGHT TO EXPOSE THE EVIL-DOERS AND EVIL DEEDS IN STATE ORGANS."  
HENCE THE CONSTITUTION, ACCORDING TO YEH, "MAKES FAIRLY BIG  
CHANGES IN THE ARTICLES CONCERNING ORGANS OF STATE AND STATE  
PERSONNEL AND SETS STRICT AND NECESSARY DEMANDS ON THEM."

--STRESS THE NEED FOR MORE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL  
ECONOMY THROUGH "CLEAR-CUT STIPULATIONS FOR CONSOLIDATING THE  
SOCIALIST ECONOMIC BASE AND DEVELOPING THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AT  
HIGH SPEED"; AND  
--HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION  
AND CULTURE.

4. ALL OF THESE PASSAGES REFLECT THE CHANGES -- BOTH IN PRACTICE  
AND STYLE -- IN CHINESE SOCIETY FOLLOWING THE PURGE OF THE GANG  
OF FOUR. TO A LARGE EXTENT THEY ARE ASSOCIATED WITH TENG  
HSIAO-PING AND HIS POLICIES. ONE CRYPTIC PASSAGE IN YEH'S  
REPORT ON "DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF  
THE BROAD MASSES" MAY SIGNIFY SERIOUS EXPERIMENTATION WITH  
THE YUGOSLAV MODEL OF ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT -- ANOTHER INNOVATION  
PRESUMABLY ASSOCIATED WITH TENG.

5. BUT WHILE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION SEEMS THE EMBODIMENT OF TENG'S POLICIES, THE TONE OF YEH CHIEN-YING'S REPORT IS QUITE DIFFERENT. REFLECTING THE "MODERATE" OR CONSENSUS POSITION ASSOCIATED WITH YEH SINCE AT LEAST MARCH 1977, THE REPORT AND THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF CONTAIN REPEATED AND UNCOMPROMISING DEMANDS THAT THE PARTY AND STATE CONTINUE TO "HOLD HIGH THE GREAT BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO." WRITTEN "PROMINENTLY" INTO THE PREAMBLE OF THE REVISED CONSTITUTION, ACCORDING TO YEH, IS THE AFFIRMATION THAT "THE BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO IS THE BANNER OF VICTORY. OUR REVOLUTION ADVANCES FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY WHENEVER IT ADHERES TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S THOUGHT AND LINE; IT SUFFERS SETBACKS OR EVEN DEFEATS WHENEVER IT DEPARTS FROM HIS THOUGHT AND LINE. THIS IS THE MOST ESSENTIAL LESSON

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PAGE 04 STATE 054730

IN THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF CHINA'S REVOLUTION."

6. COMMENT: IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO ASSESS MEANINGFULLY ALTERATIONS IN THE LEADERSHIP EQUATION RESULTING FROM THE NPC. BUT THERE IS INCREASINGLY A SUSPICION THAT TENG HSIAO-PING MAY NOT HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY BETTERED HIS POSITION. THE "PROMINENT" RETENTION OF MAO IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION, THE IMPRESSION THAT HUA WILL RETAIN THE PREMIERSHIP, THE EXTREMELY LOW PROFILE TAKEN AT THE NPC TO DATE BY TENG (HUA HAS NOW PRESIDED FOR THE SECOND TIME, TENG NOT AT ALL), TENG'S ABSENCE FROM GROUP DISCUSSIONS OF THE NPC AGENDA, AND THE APPARENT POLITICAL SURVIVAL OF ALL OF TENG'S ADVERSARIES ON THE POLITBURO STRONGLY SUGGEST A CHECKING OF TENG'S ASPIRATIONS AND A POLITICAL STALEMATE.

WOODCOCK UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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